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LIKELY EC POSITIONS AT UPCOMING TROIKA MEETING

This memorandum offers our judgments on West European attitudes and policies on several topics which will be discussed at next week's Troika meeting of EC political directors. These topics include terrorism, East-West security issues, and Turkey's possible application for EC membership. [redacted]

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Terrorism

West European governments will be reluctant to put any further pressure on Syria or Libya despite their continued involvement in terrorism:

- The United Kingdom, which instigated the recent EC action against Syria, is satisfied with the mild measures agreed to and is unlikely to press for any additional sanctions. [redacted]

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- French leaders remain prepared to negotiate with Syria and Iran to gain the release of their hostages in Lebanon. They are unlikely to back strong EC actions that could hurt their chances.

- Bonn also does not want to endanger Euro-Arab relations by breaking ties with Syria, although the outcome of the Berlin trial of two Arab terrorists has somewhat stiffened the West German position. [redacted]

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This memorandum was prepared by [redacted] Office of European Analysis. Questions and comments can be directed to Chief, Issues and Applications Division [redacted]

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West Europeans continue to oppose US military action whether the target be Damascus or Tripoli. Similarly, we believe they will continue to resist such US policies as Libyan oil certification. In our view, EC countries would only be prepared to impose sanctions on these states if there were proof, perceived as conclusive by the West Europeans, of Libyan or Syrian involvement in another terrorist incident. They would then adopt stronger measures in part to try to prevent US military action. []

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With respect to the Middle East in general, most West Europeans argue that extensive US support of Israel complicates the Middle East peace process. At the same time, therefore, they acknowledge that US involvement is essential for any solution. At present, the West Europeans see little hope for an European initiative in the Middle East. []

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[] US and EC counterterrorism efforts will continue to be difficult due to the rigid procedures restricting non-EC involvement in EC working group activity. More flexible arrangements have been blocked by France which routinely objects to participation by non-EC members. []

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The Trevi Group, which brings together EC ministers and senior officials responsible for security also has promoted the coordination of counterterrorism measures among the Twelve. Further advances, however, will depend on EC willingness to tackle such difficult political decisions as the standardization of visa and entry requirements. []

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East-West Security Issues

Historically, EPC meetings have not usually focused on East-West security issues. In our view, the presence of countries such as Ireland and Greece will prevent the EPC from becoming an important venue for such talks. Nonetheless, the perceived US disregard for West European security concerns at Reykjavik has prompted increased consultation and coordination among the major Allied leaders. The UK, West Germany, France, and Italy for example, have apparently worked out a coordination process. []

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Allied reactions have been highly critical of the US both for the proposals tabled at Reykjavik and the perceived lack of consultation beforehand:

- The UK and France are particularly concerned because the zero ballistic missile (ZBM) proposal undercuts their nuclear modernization plans and places pressure on them to negotiate on the future of their nuclear

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deterrents. [REDACTED]

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- West Germany and Italy believe that the elimination of LRINF would leave them vulnerable, and want guarantees that if LRINF missiles are removed in five years, agreement will be reached on a reduction in Warsaw Pact conventional arms and on SRINF.
- West European leaders generally fear that the net effect of no INF missiles in Europe and zero ballistic missiles would be to decouple the US from Western Europe and increase the security risk to their countries. [REDACTED]

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Moreover, Reykjavik has posed new political dilemmas for many West European leaders. While they want US-Soviet negotiations to proceed apace -- in large part to satisfy their publics, they are concerned that Washington might alter longstanding US-West European security arrangements in pursuit of far reaching arms control agreements with Moscow. [REDACTED]

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EC-Turkey: Membership Application

The EC states will resist Turkish membership for numerous reasons:

- Turkey, as a large and relatively less developed country, would be a net recipient of EC funds and an enormous drain on tight EC resources.
- The Community has not yet fully adjusted to the addition over the past five years of Greece, Spain, and Portugal. Some member states such as Denmark also harbor lingering doubts about whether Turkey should be admitted to the EC "club" because of its record on human rights, its uncertain political stability, and its non-Christian, non-European orientation.
- EC members, especially West Germany, worry that full membership would add to the influx of Turkish immigrants, who already have become a domestic political issue in Western Europe.
- Greece will mount the strongest opposition and may ultimately veto Turkey's membership bid because of its own bitter political rivalries with Turkey. Ankara needs unanimous backing from all Twelve to win entry.

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Nevertheless, should Turkey submit an application, all the member states except Greece probably will accept in principle -- primarily because they do not want to jeopardize Turkey's Western orientation and leave it to Greece to bear the onus for clearing obstacles. Moreover, the EC members recognize it could take some 15-20 years for Turkish accession to be fully realized. [REDACTED]

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SUBJECT: Likely EC Positions at Upcoming Troika Meeting

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